

TRANSFIELD Resolution

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SECRET

in his Nov. 15, 1955 memo to Ike, Dulles noted that Ike had long favored some sort of high-level committee of civilians to oversee CIA. Dulles now suggests creations of such a committee and asks that it be appointed before Cong. convenes early the following yr, that is before debate on the Mansfield proposal. Dulles then attaches a list of names for appointment to this committee.

*specifically mentions Mansfield's proposal*

Ike created this President's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intell. Activities in Jan. 1956 [did he staff it w/ Dulles's suggestions? see NYT and p. 126 here to find out] [can I say that the Board, just as Dulles has anticipated, proved to be no bother/] *I don't think so*

NYT [22 Feb 56, 20:1] reported Senate "miffed" that Pres  
 \*\*----had acted to cut them off in this fashion. [Chk. this story]

Jospeh P. Kennedy one of members chosen by Ike. Dulles pushed his candidacy.

pp. 125-26

*of 8 original committee members, 3 were on Dulles' list - + others, like Kennedy, certainly acceptable*

Normal Paul memo, Job 58-597

11 April 1956 vote in Senate--defeated 59-27.

leading opponent of Resolution on Floor was Russell, w/ strong support from Hayden, Saltonstall, Hickenlooper, Symington, and Barkley. Knowland also argued vs. the bill and indicated Ike's opposition.

in addition to Mansfield, Sens Langer, Morse, Gore, Sworshak, and McCarthy spoke for the resolution

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see Senate Rep. 1570, Feb a23, 1956, Comm on Rules and  
Administration, "Jt. Comm on CIA"

creation of President's Board

Edwards, "The Pres's Bd"

SECRET

following submission of Doolittle Report, IG Lyman Kirkpatrick (who had worked closely w/ Doolittle Commission) suggested to Dulles in Feb. 1955 that CIA take the initiative in pushing for White House creation of a permanent advisory body to the Pres. Similar calls for such a board had been circulating among NSC staff, so perhaps Kirkpatrick believed some such board was inevitable, and it was better for CIA to have a voice in its creation and charter

p. 113

be sure to see Senate Report No. 1570, Report of the Committee on Rules and Administration, "Joining Committee on Central Intelligence Agency" Feb. 23, 1956

*[I think there is a copy in OGC files, OGC library]*

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*oppo.* following report by Rules and Admin Comm, Sen. Hayden submitted a minority ~~report~~ report arguing that existing surveillance by members of Appro and Armed Services Comms adequate. Noting that the Pres has recently established a Bd. of Consultants on For. Intell. Activities, he warned that Cong should let CIA get on w/ its work "w/out being watchdooged to death."

p. 166

*oppo.* Russell later added his prestige to support Hayden by saying: "If there is one agency of the Govt in which we must take some matters on faith w/out a constant examination of its methods and sources, I believe this agency is the Cen Intell Agency."

*sup.* Supporters of the measure countered w/ the argument that the CIA has gr influence in determining for. pol. and therefore deserved cong. attention.

*final  
note* none of the members of the 2 CIA subcomms voted for the resolution.

pp. 167-69

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*final  
vote*

defeat of Mansfield resolution due to pressure from White House  
plus oppositin from influential members of Senate fearful of  
offending Richard Russell

p. 88



SECRET

*total of 35 co-sponsors*

*more than 1/3 of Senate*  
Mansfield joined by 34 <sup>other</sup> co-sponsors in a resolution which proposed that the members of the existing CIA subcommittee of Armed Services and Appropriations in each House comprise a jt. committee.

*by vote of 8-1 w/ Hayden dissenting*

*+ Administration*  
The Senate Rules Committee cleared the resolution for a floor vote, but in the meantime, Mansfield found himself being deserted even by his co-sponsors [this deserves to be explored]. April 11--day of vote. 12 co-sponsors defect, and resolution defeated 59-27.

Mansfield ruefully remarked that he had been beaten by the pros.

*1st introduced in Jan '55*

pp. <sup>31</sup> -33

in Feb, while this resolution pending, NSC considers what its position should be. Decides to oppose creation of a jt. comm. on grounds that it was unnecessary, would have serious jurisdictional probs w/ other cong. committees, would raise substantial security probs, and might interfere w/ conduct of for. rel. by Executive branch.

p. 33

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Mansfield resolution directed as much vs. Cong as vs. CIA.

Saltonstall (Cong Rec, Apr 9, 1956--check <sup>P. 5292 of C.R.</sup> this) conceded: "it is not a ques. of reluctance on the part of CIA officials to speak to us. Instead, it is a ques of our reluctance, if you will, to seek info and knowledge on subjects which I personally, as a Member of Cong and as a citizen, would rather not have."

p. 91

SECRET

opposition of imp. members of Cong probably decisive in defeat of resolution.

Sen. Barkley (former v.p.) and Sen. Symington (former Sec. of Air Force) both spoke strongly vs. it, citing their experience as members of NSC.

Russell, Saltonstall, and Hayden all opposed. Resented the implied lack of confidence in their performance and the invasion of their established preserves.

this effort the highwater mark of the watchdog comm. effort during Dulles's time as DCI.

pp. 110-111

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*notes.*

debate re Mansfield resolution "the first major public debate over issues affecting the intell. community since the 1947 legislation."

*post-mortem*

altho measure failed, set a precedent for increased skepticism w/in Cong of CIA.

p. 92

Ransom says 14 original sponsors defected--this figure will need to be tracked down

the 27 who voted in favor of resolution came from 2 camps: liberal Demo w/out seniority, and right-wing Repub associated w/ Joseph McCarthy. The liberals were voicing concern and distaste for the distasteful business of spying and for the existence of a potentially dangerous agency outside cong. control.

Repub were expressing Midwestern resentment vs. international commitments and resp, of which the CIA was a symbol, and vs. an agency engaged in an essentially intellectual process and apparently led by Ivy League types.

p. 170

Mansfield resolution: jt. committee would be composed of 6 members from each House.  
would have a broad mandate to study activities of CIA, probs relating to gathering of intell. affecting nat. security, and coordination and utilization of intell by various depts and agencies of govt.

*note.*  
CIA was to keep jt. comm. "fully and currently informed w/ respect to its activities.  
would have a permanent staff, be authorized to hold hearings and to issue subpoenas

proponents said it followed recommendation of Hoover Commission.

pp. 163-64

*Rules C.*  
in reporting out the bill, the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration noted that a policy of "secrecy for the mere sake of secrecy" invited abuse and prevented Cong and the nation from knowing whether country being adequately served in its intell. needs.--though acknowledged need for secrecy in certain areas. But complained: "Secrecy now beclouds everything about CIA. . . . It is freed from practically every ordinary form of congressional review. The CIA has unquestionably placed itself above other Government agencies."

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p. 165

SECRET

Jan. 6, 1956, Dulles sends long memo to NSC on Mansfield  
\*\*-----resolution. See this in ER 7-7695  
does not explicitly oppose creation of watchdog (tho impli-  
citly he does) for has maintained that this is a matter for  
Cong. to decide.  
does pt. out the difficulties such a comm. would raise--i.e.,  
jurisdictional probs and duplication of existing arrange-  
ments. But these difficulties were more nuisances than  
substantively harmful.

pp. 107-08

[sic] in this memo he (too strongly?) says that creation of the  
proposed comm. would result "in the inevitable stoppage of  
flow of certain sensitive information which by its very  
nature, is most important to the United States." becuz of for.  
doubts re security.

p. 110

unclassified

[ ] cites the Cong Recored of 1954 for this--I should try to find the correct citation before using]

25X1

Mansfiled during considration of his resolution acknowledged that secrecy necessary but warned "there is a profound difference bet. an essential degree of secrecy to achieve a sporadic purpose and secrecy for the mere sake of secrecy. Once secrecy becomes sacrosanct, it invites abuse."

p. 89

Russel stated on floor of Senate that he would rather see CIA abolished than have info relating to Agency's activities be made available to Cong.

Russell stated that Allen Dulles had never failed to answer the subcomm's Qs "forthrightly and frankly," even though "it almost chills the marrow of the bone" to hear of some of the CIA's activities. [sic] Russell: the subcomm. had asked Dulles "very searching" Qs but Sen. Henry Dworshak, memver of a defense appropriations subcomm. charged w/ CIA oversight, complained that Dulles had refused to provide info re expenditures and manpower.

*His quote  
may be long  
see p. 5413 of  
Cong. Rec.*

*but  
Dworshak  
nevertheless  
opposed the  
resolution*

[try Cong. Rec, Apr 9, 1956 for these 2 quotes]

p. 90



SECRET

Cong. normally reviews an agency's actions thru its control of authorizations and appropriations. But since the cong. supervision of CIA bidget so cursory, it had little way to check on AGENCY's activities. Hence repeated calls for a jt. watchdog committee becuz the customary budget review process so utterly lacking in case of CIA.

p. 105

On Nov. 15, 1955, while Mansfield resolution pending, Dulles sent a memo to Ike re his thoughts on this resolution. See  
\*\*-----this in ER 7-6176, E.R. file: Clark Task Force  
pp. 106-07 quotes from this memo at length if I can't find original.

Apparently Dulles conferred repeated w/ Russel and Saltonstall, and also Mansfield. Dulles got Mansfield to modify his original proposal to make it less objectional. Goes on to say: "I have never come out in opposition to the idea of a 'watchdog' committee as I felt that tactically it was unwise to do so. In general, however, I would prefer the 'status quo' as relations w/ both the Armed Services Committees have been extremely satisfactory. I see no reason for a change."

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Mansfield asks Saltonstall how many times CIA briefs the 2 Senate comms.

Saltonstall: twice a yr in Armed Serv Comm, once a yr. for Appro. Comm. Both Dulles and Bedell Smith stated "that they were ready at all times to answer any Qs we might wish to ask them. The difficulty in connection w/ asking Qs and obtaining information is that we might obtain information which I personally would rather not have, unless it was essential for me as a Member of Cong. to have it."

Mansfield then suggests that this does not seem like sufficiently close contact, at which pt. Saltonstall then makes his statement that it is not a Q of reluctance on part of CIA but of members of Cong.

pp. 53-54

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one outcome of Mansfield reso and debate: creation of special CIA subcomms. in Senate Armed Serv and Appor. Comms.

but this entailed no broadening in the membership of those resp. for cong. oversight in Armed Srv Comm, Russell appointed Saltonstall and Byrd, both of whom had been meeting informally w/ Russell on CIA matters already. Subsequently, Sens. LBJ and Bridges added to the subcomm.

in 1957, Senate Appor. Comm created a CIA subcomm. Russell, Bridges, and Byrd on this one as well. Carl Hayden, as chair of Appor. Comm., usually sat in on CIA subcomm. meetings as well.

essentailly, Russell, Bridges, and Byrd were the Senate overseers. They frequently convened the 2 subcomms. at the same time.

but even after creation of subcomms., the most frequent form of interchange w/ CIA remained personal communications bet Dulles and Russell.

pp. 54-55

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SECRET

Jan 14, 1955 -- Mansfield introduced S. Con. Res. 2 to establish a Jt. Comm on Central Intell. In addition to himself, there are 32 co-sponsors for the bill.

The resolution has been referred to Sen Comm on Rules, 3 of whose 9 members (including Sen. Mansfield) are co-sponsors.

9 of the co-sponsors are members of the 15-man Senate ForRelComm.

7 of the co-sponsors are members of the SenArmServComm

19 of the co-sponsors are Democrats and tend to represent the liberal wing of the party w/ the exception of Sens. Daniel, Ervin, and George.

*4 Feb. 1955 - 2 additional senators have joined as co-sponsors*

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